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WEDNESDAY
MAY 19, 1954

Temperature at 9:00 a.m. about 70. No possibility of sleep at 1718 H Street after seven each morning, when the riveters commence operations on an office building opposite.

Called Audrey in Cambridge last night. Her voice sounded gay and happy. She expects to join us in Europe toward the end of June.

Attended meetings as usual today.

Saw Truman, who is enjoying a spell of leisure during General Smith's absence. He ^{is} ~~is~~ proud of his big new departmental Packard.

I lunched with Kay Halle. She and Susan were ~~very~~ affectionate, and Susan had prepared my favorite summer dishes, crab flakes, asparagus, strawberries and cream, accompanied by a bottle of Soave. Gloria Braggiotti came in while we were eating, and I found she was a fellow lover of Venice.

Kay and I visited Herbert Elliston. He looked thin, one leg ~~in~~ in a brace, but he was fully mobile in speech. He is writing a column once a week. His interest in international affairs is undimmed, and as usual he disapproves of U. S. policy in Asia.

I went to the dispensary to have a heart cardiogram taken. They will give me the interpretation tomorrow.

Snag in my return passage. Plane for Saturday night is full. I called Warren Pierson, Chairman of TWA, and solicited his intercession so far as that might be proper. During the busy tourist season one no sooner arrives from Europe than it is necessary to arrange one's line of retreat.

Tonight had dinner with the Tylers, which is always a delightful occasion. While waiting on the steps of the Club for Bill to take me to his house, I chatted with Eugene Meyer. He is spry as a sparrow, even though eighty.

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THURSDAY
MAY 20, 1954

At the Department I finished my notes on U. S. foreign policy reappraisal and discussed them briefly with MacArthur and Bowie. They read as follows:

"The first question for settlement is the fundamental one of our attitude toward alliances. 1. Should we reject them entirely (except as already bound) leaving ourselves liberty of action? 2. Should we contract them on a global basis? 3. Should we enter them on a strictly defined regional basis?

"1. Firmly believing that we cannot, despite our great power, act alone, I dismiss further consideration of course 1; its adoption would ultimately be equivalent to embracing the policy either of continental or of hemispheric defense.

"2. As to global engagements, except for our membership and activities in U.N., our interests in various parts of the world are, in many instances, so much at variance with those of our natural associates, as to make inadvisable commitments of this nature. It would be mistaken, for example, for us to identify ourselves with the unpopularity and intransigence of British policy in Egypt, Iran and Saudi Arabia. It may prove impossible at times for us to avoid such identification, but we should at least not formalize these relationships.

"3. We are already participating in regional pacts, and should continue to do so. We should constantly reexamine these understandings and seek to make them more effective. Nor should we be averse to considering other treaty relationships of this nature, calculated to increase our security or to advance our policy objectives.

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DECLASSIFIED

THURSDAY
MAY 20, 1954

-2-

"In this way, although our complete freedom of action is limited in certain respects by our engagements, we will avoid to a considerable degree compromising our freedom of independent action or judgment in areas or situations where our decisions may determine grave issues -- i.e. because of our security arrangements in Europe, we should not necessarily have to support British and French colonial policies in Asia, Africa, or elsewhere.

"B.

"If we accept the desirability of maintaining, and, if necessary, enlarging our system of regional alliances, we should review the institutions created to implement our obligations.

"Next to participation in the U.N. our most ambitious partnership is in NATO. This organization, called into being to assure, by military means, Western Europe against potential Soviet aggression, is necessarily conglomerate in its membership. Iceland, Portugal, Norway, Denmark, Turkey and Greece were admitted for military considerations -- in the field of political strategy their voices are generally discordant and distracting.

"It might be possible to expend² the political usefulness of NATO by
1. Appointing as national representatives to its Council men of such standing in their respective countries as to make the members of the Council second only to foreign ministers in prestige; 2. Adding to it a consultative parliament in the hope that interchanges of opinion and arguments in that body would result in better understanding, between participating nations, of mutual problems.

"But regardless of what might be accomplished within the framework of this existing organism, which possesses the great merit of being in function, there would seem to be a need for strengthening the contact between those countries of the free world on whom rest the major responsibilities for shaping European

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR	
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DECLASSIFIED

THURSDAY
MAY 20, 1954

-3-

policy. These are the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium. It might be expedient to admit Italy to this number, and not to omit Luxembourg.

"At present, Germany is not a partner (except in the Council of Europe) in the international bodies where problems of the free world are brought under joint scrutiny. Since Germany's admission to NATO is not a present practicability, we might consider an informal relationship between the countries above enumerated.

"If the EDC should come into being, an arrangement could easily be made whereby the Foreign Ministers of the six countries, or their Deputies, could periodically meet, with the addition of their colleagues from the U.S., U.K. and Canada. The same would apply if an European Political Community were eventually formed.

"But since the EDC is not an actuality, I suggest thought be given to having ad hoc meetings between the Foreign Ministers (or their Deputies) to discuss, under cover of the necessity of examining the status of EDC -- as provided in the Paris Treaty -- the problems of European policy. The first such meeting should be held this summer.

"In preparation for -- if time permits -- such meetings, but, in any event, at some early date, reappraisal studies of our foreign policy should be made outside as well as within the Department. The idea of a special panel of distinguished citizens, drawn perhaps from the membership of the Foreign Policy Association, has been considered in this connection. I do not favor such an approach; amongst other reasons it would be difficult to bring together people of the required qualifications, who would devote the necessary time to their task.

It would assume on their part a familiarity with the matters involved which only those dealing currently with them possess, and which could only be acquired by close and lengthy analysis of masses of highly classified documents.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR	
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DECLASSIFIED ☒ RELEASABLE ☒	
RELEASE DATES ☐	

DECLASSIFIED

THURSDAY
MAY 20, 1954

-4-

"For our immediate purposes, I venture to suggest trying the experiment on a regional basis of having certain of our foreign ambassadors meet and make recommendations on foreign policy to the Secretary. Our Ambassadors are not ordinarily as burdened with business as are the top officials of the Department. For Europe I would consider delegating this task to our Ambassadors to the EDC countries plus Hughes. Much of the work would be done by members of their staffs, but the final judgment would be theirs. Dissents and minority opinions should be encouraged in order to avoid compromises for the sake of seeming unity. They should be instructed to gather in Paris and complete their findings in a week. At least one officer from the Department should attend this symposium.

"The same procedure might be adopted for the Far East, the Middle East and Latin America. I should like to see a special group selected to deal with Africa, but am not sufficiently familiar with the calibre of our personnel there to know whether they would be up to the task.

"In order to facilitate these deliberations, a careful agenda should be drawn up in the Department for the guidance of each group. Otherwise, there will be a dispersion of effort, coupled with irrelevant observations.

"A suggested agenda for Western Europe might include some of the following topics.

"a. Should we maintain our emphasis on NATO as the keystone of our European policy?

"b. Should we continue beyond this year our insistence upon EDC ratification?

"c. How far should and could we go in using atomic weapons in spite of lack of permission from our Allies from whose territories we operate?

"d. Should we reconsider our unilateral command over SAC, and contemplate placing it partly or wholly under SACEUR?

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THURSDAY
MAY 20, 1954

-5-

"e. If EDC is not ratified by a certain date, what steps should we take, and what prior consultations should be had, intended to relieve FEDREP of the occupation status?

"f. Assuming continued political instability in France, and unwillingness or impotence in ratifying EDC, what should we do about her position in the Standing Group, and in general her future share in great power conversations?

"g. What alternatives to EDC might be recommended, with particular regard to orienting Germany to the West and obtaining a German military contribution?

"h. Should SACEUR be instructed to prepare a new strategic plan on the assumption that EDC will not come into force? If so, should publicity be given to the fact that such a survey is being undertaken?

"i. What combinations of interests might best serve U.S. policy? U.S., U.K. and Canada? U.S., U.K., Canada and Germany? U.S., U.K., Canada, Germany, and France? U.S., U.K., Canada, Germany, France and Benelux? Etc.

"j. How important to our security is closer economic collaboration between Western Europe and the U.S.; if it is important, what program is required to strengthen it?"

Also talked a good deal to a number of people about EDC and Indo-China. This last situation is tense and dangerous to the last degree. I am familiar with only a small portion of the plans under consideration, but am alarmed at the explosive possibilities of some of those advocated by highly placed individuals in the Government.

Had lunch with George Pratt at the Orient Restaurant. Talked about underdeveloped areas, especially in the Middle and Far East. Later went to see Clegg and Herbert.

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THURSDAY
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-6-

Tonight, Truman motored me over to Belmont, where I had dinner with Mary and Howard Bruce. Mary's mother, Mrs. Bowdoin, of whom I was ~~very~~ fond, died this spring at the age of 91. Belmont was built in 1738, and has always been in Mary's family -- it is a charming house and place.

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